619
675 "Jumi'at, Marabtiin (plural of Marabit) of the 'Ali Ahmar." All Marabit tribes of the Western Desert are affiliated as
* [613] clients with Sa'adi tribes. Further, since the tertiary group of the Marabtiin functions in the same way as that of the Sa'adi, it is this group which enters into compacts with Sa'adi tertiary groups. Traditionally, the Marabit group's
[682] main support activity was to share in the payment of the blood-money with its Sa'adi protector group. In return, the Marabit group was given land in the protector's territory and could depend upon them to contribute to any Marabit blood debt which might come due. Also, it was considered the
[628] [682] duty of the Sa'adi to revenge the death of a member of his client group since the Marabit "was weak and could not face a
• [608] tribe." But there is no attempt to construct fictional kinship links between Sa'adi and Marabit groups.

[672] In al-Qasr today, contractual relations between Sa'adi and Marabit are still based upon collective responsibility in the blood-feud. However, since this traditional means of conflict control is an extremely rare occurrence, the mutual obligations of the parties are expressed in different forms.
[648] In any conflict between the Bedouins and the Egyptian government, the Marabtiin are expected to support their respective
[666] Sa'adi groups. In any modern elections which a Sa'adi might enter, the Marabit is expected to give him his vote. A few examples will make clear the relationship between the Sa'adi

121 residence, cognatic ties, and contractual relations are all
181 seen to be structurally important in early Arabian society.
621 Structural differentiation into groups is based on the
571 lineage principle and sustained through "the law of blood-
171 revenge." And it is important to note that the hayy was characterized by a structure of authority, it was "guided in war and on the march by one chief" (Smith 1903:44). The
121 law of blood-revenge as an expression of group rights in rem
621 and a system of mutual protection point up the importance of
571 contractual relations in Bedouin society. Whether or not
675 real blood ties are involved, a contract must be present or there can be no corporate group. Contract legitimizes authority and provides the basis for the lateral extension of the group; it is primary though it functions coordinately with a principle of cognation, residence, adoption, etc. Contractual ties
121 operate outside of kinship at times but will always be validated
621 by it eventually, "for a legal fiction is always adopted to
571 reconcile an act with a principle too firmly established to
675 be simply ignored" (Smith 1903:62). "Blood brothers," in
608 al-Qasr, are defined both biologically and ideologically. As
599 noted in the case of al-Qasr, there were at least three cases
[602] of contractual adoption in which one individual and two whole corporate groups "wrote their names into the books of the 'Aishaibat tribe" (katab jinnsiyya 'Aishaibiyya). The integration or adoption of elements in al-Qasr takes place on the

121 621 571 675 *608 597 basis of an agreement "to share the good and the bad" by all parties concerned. Once the integration is effected, patrilineal ideology and legal fiction succeed in concealing the jointure.

The concept which derives from ancient Arabia, and 621 571 *613 which expresses fully the structural principles of Bedouin society is that of 'aqila. The 'aqila, in al-Qasr, is the head of the corporate group, the tertiary unit or bait. A [884] person becomes part of the Bedouin jural body when he reaches the age of 15, begins to keep the Ramadan fast, and is expected to pay his share of the blood-money. At this time, a man 621 571 *613 672 acquires rights over his corporate lineage-mates and they over him: they claim a share in the indemnity ("blood-money" - diiya) of each other, and are under obligation to [682] contribute equal shares to any diiya which becomes due from the group as a whole. Further, each corporate member is morally bound to support his lineage-mates by swearing the oath (yamiin) on the behalf of any who are accused of falsehoods in the course of litigation. All of these rights and obligations are guaranteed by the presence of an 'aqila.

*613 The tertiary bait is the minimal corporate group. It usually includes three to five generations of members. Tertiary units which are descended from a common ancestor combine through contractual relations into the maximal corporate group, the secondary unit or 'aiela. Beyond the secondary level

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

stretch of tribal territory, move during the rains to the same grazing grounds, use the same wells during the dry season, and cultivate adjacent strips of arable. The members of a *bait* have a lively sense of solidarity, and this is most evident in fighting and feuds. It is their common duty to avenge a slain kinsman and they share the *diya*, indemnity, should they accept it in the place of a life. They are jointly responsible for a wrong any one of them may commit. The smaller *biyut* are often identical with camps, usually from five to ten tents, in grazing grounds, and several closely related *biyut* camp near together in the vicinity of springs and wells in the summer, their combined camps then amounting sometimes to over a hundred tents.

What has been said above about tribal structure applies only to the free tribes and the larger client tribes living on their own land. The client tribes which are split up and scattered throughout Cyrenaica are not tribes in a political, but only in an ethnic, sense. It will be found that in any of the main tribes stranger groups, sometimes of client origin, have attached themselves to the clan dominant in the tribal area and through some fiction, myth, or fraud, have grafted their branch of descent on to the genealogical tree of this clan. The Bedouin use the word *laf* to describe this process and they say that kinship established in this way may become as strong as kinship of blood.

The structure of a tribe is expressed in terms of the lineage system of the clan dominant in its territory, the tribal segments being assooiated with branches of descent from the ancestor of this clan. The primary tribal sections are identified with lineages descended from some of this ancestor's descendants in the male line; the secondary tribal sections are identified with lineages descended from more of his descendants farther down the line of descent; and so on till the smallest territorial segments and the smallest lineages are reached. Thus a lineage considered as a branch of a clan consists of all those persons who trace their descent through the male line to a common ancestor, but it can also be, and in speech often is, conceived of politically as an agnatic group of this kind together with stranger and *Marabtin* accretions which occupy its territory and make common cause with it in disputes with other tribes or segments of the same tribe.

A simple example is given in illustration of tribal segmentation

The Proliferation of Segments

There are, in Cyrenaica, three major status groups among the tribes: the noble or free-born tribesmen (*al-Hurr*), those who have been adopted or grafted on to a tribe (the *Laff*), and the clients (*Marabtin*).

Those who claim to be free-born also claim ownership of the natural resources. The *Laff* do not own these. They are people thought not to have originally been of the lineage of the tribe with which they are resident. They are found sometimes in ones and twos in the camps of the free-born, but sometimes constituting tertiary groups themselves. Now when such people have resided with their free-born hosts for several years and one of them has married one of the host's daughters, they are grafted to the genealogy at the point of tertiary segmentation, that is, where ambiguity occurs in the genealogy. Obviously, persons thus grafted to the lineage cannot be shown as descendants of one of the living or of the recently dead, remembered perhaps by some of the elders still living. It is equally true to say that they cannot be grafted to the lineage at a point superior to that of the tertiary segments, since this would involve recognition by a number of tertiary groups whose members may know little or nothing about them. When a person enters a new tribe, the only way in which he can do so is to go to live in a camp, and it is the concern of the people of that particular camp whether or not they accept him, since it is they who have to decide whether their resources are sufficient to support a newcomer. Once a man has been accepted as a full member of a tertiary section, membership of superior tribal sections is automatic, although to enter into tribal membership he requires the permission of members of a tertiary section only. To graft at a point superior to the tertiary would be the same as giving a man superior structural status, but without a camp in which to dwell. There is only one place for his incorporation, and that is where the ambiguity in the genealogy permits manipulation to include new lines. In this way the adoption of a person into a lineage does not offend the sense of kinship of the receiving group since the point of inclusion is an ancestor about whom little or nothing is known and whose authenticity is frequently doubted by some. What has been referred to as an area of ambiguity is, moreover, something of a jumble of names, and it is not a difficult matter, if a new line has to be

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

619 attached somewhere along the line, to attach it to one of these
608 names. Bedouin welcome, as members of their camps, practically
613 anyone who wishes to join, even, in the case of one group, an
621 Italian. The limit to this acceptance of members is, of course, the
173 number of people who can be supported by the local resources.
If people are being admitted freely to membership of a particular
[182] camp, this means that there is a local surplus of land and water,
so that the number of grafts being supported by any particular section is a useful index of the extent to which the resources are being used. Conversely, as sometimes happens when grafted elements become numerous, or when the water supply, for various reasons, dwindles, it may be necessary to detach a grafted group.
[578] Such action is always the occasion of a violent dispute, usually over watering rights, and not infrequently fights break out. Whether or not the grafted group wins, from then onwards it will be forced to exist as an independent group, and a new tertiary section will have been born. No matter which of the processes involving grafts is considered—incorporation or detachment—both are contained within the framework of the tertiary section, without any effect on the rest of the structure.

619 The position of the clients, in the context of this discussion, is not unlike that of the grafts. Briefly, clients are men who are con-
[423] sidered to have originated from a country other than Cyrenaica, and who for this reason cannot claim rights to land and water—at least this is the theory, although in some circumstances they are able to do so successfully. They are of various kinds, but they are not included in the genealogies given by the free-born. Clients are found grouped in two main ways. There are some large groups which constitute tribes in the sense that they display a genealogical and territorial organization like those of the free-born, and are usually to be found flanking the main tribes of the country on their borders. Some of these are powerful groups and enjoy considerable independence of action, but whatever their characteristics they none the less speak of themselves as 'for' or
619 tied to the noble tribe whose territory includes theirs. Further,
571 the sections of these client tribes have their special ties with
621 tertiary sections of the noble tribes, which are not merely ties of
613 sentiment, but which take the form of valuable mutual help in a number of situations. A whole client tribe, in the sense that it is